

Message Text

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PAGE 01 STATE 036722

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TO ALL AMERICAN REPUBLIC DIPLOMATIC POSTS PRIORITY

S E C R E T STATE 036722

EXDIS, FOR AMBASSADOR FROM ASSISTANT SECRETARY ROGERS

E.O. 11652:

TAGS:PFOR

SUBJECT:"SCOPE PAPER" FOR SECRETARY'S LA TRIP.

FOR YOUR BACKGROUND INFO IN CONNECTION WITH SECRETARY'S TRIP, THERE FOLLOWS THE GENERAL PART OF THE "SCOPE PAPER" WE HAVE GIVEN HIM. SECTIONS DEALING WITH INDIVIDUAL COUNTRY ISSUES ARE OMITTED FROM THIS CABLE, BUT ENTIRE PAPER IS BEING AIRPOUCHED TO YOU.

BEGIN TEXT:

THIS TRIP IS DIFFERENT FROM TLATELOLCO -- AND POTENTIALLY MORE IMPORTANT. AT TLATELOLCO, THE UNITED STATES RE-ENTERED THE HEMISPHERE WITH AN APPROACH SEEN BY THE LATIN AS SEEKING TO REAFFIRM US REGIONAL HEGEMONY.

YOUR TRIP WILL DEMONSTRATE THE EVOLUTION OF OUR POLICIES TOWARD A MORE DIFFERENTIATED AND RESPONSIVE GLOBAL RELATIONSHIP.

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 STATE 036722

UNLIKE TLATELOLCO:

-- YOU WILL NOT BE TRYING TO HANDLE LATIN AMERICA AS A BLOC; YOU WILL BE TALKING WITH KEY LEADERS INDIVIDUALLY, ACKNOWLEDGING THE DISTINCTIVE INTERESTS, NEEDS AND ASPIRATIONS OF THEIR COUNTRIES;

-- YOU WILL NOT BE MEETING THEM BECAUSE THEY HAPPEN TO INHABIT "OUR" HEMISPHERE, BUT BECAUSE THEY ARE INCREASINGLY SIGNIFICANT ACTORS ON THE WORLD SCENE, AND WITH WHOM WE ALSO SHARE A TRADITION OF COOPERATION.

THI- PAPER IS AN EFFORT TO SAY SOMETHING USEFUL ABOUT:

-- THE STRATEGIC SETTING;
-- THE OVERALL GOAL OF THE TRIP; AND
-- YOUR THEMES AND OBJECTIVES IN EACH STOP.

THE STRATEGICSETTING

THE ENVIRONMENT FOR A TRIP IS PROBABLY BETTER NOW THAN AT ANY TIME IN THE PAST TWO YEARS. OUR RELATIONS WITH THE AMERICAS ARE RELATIVELY GOOD. THE NEW GOVERNMENTS OF VENEZUELA, PERU, AND COLOMBIA HAVE SETTLED IN. THEY ARE TACKLING REAL PROBLEMS -- AND ARE MATURING AS A CONSEQUENCE THE REHTORIC IS DOWN. BRAZIL IS UNDERGOING A CRISIS OF CONFIDENCE AFTER THE MIRACLE YEARS; IN SOME WAYS THE SOBERING ATMOSPHERE IN BRASILIA MAY EVEN BE HEALTHY. CENTRAL AMERICA IS PULLING BACK FROM THE BRINK OF TWO LOCAL CONFLICTS. THE LEADERS OF ALL THESE NATIONS WILL WELCOME YOUR VISIT. MOST HAVE STRONG DOMESTIC REASONS FOR DOING SO.

THE WATERGATE AFTERTASTE, THE CIA SCANDALS AND OUR IMPO-
TENCY IN ANGOLA HAVE RESULTED IN A SUBTLE SHIFT OF ATTITUDE ABOUT THE UNITED STATES. A YEAR OR TWO AGO THERE WAS A TOUCH OF SECRET DELIGHT IN OUR PLIGHT. THIS WAS A LUXURY. IT HAS GIVEN WAY TO A NEW CYCLE OF ANXIETY, AND HOPE FOR THE REASSERTION OF U.S. POWER.

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 STATE 036722

AT THE SAME TIME:

-- WE HAVE ESTABLISHED OUR BONA FIDES ON P8NAMA -- TE ONE ISSUE WHICH COULD HAVE TURNED ALL YOUR HOSTS AGAINST US.

-- WE LIQUIDATED THE MULTILATERAL CUBAN SANCTIONS ISSUE WHICH WAS DIVISIVE TO HEMISPHERIC COUNCILS.

-- FINALLY OUR ECONOMY IS ON THE UPSWING -- WITH GROWTH PROJECTED AS THE MOST RAPID IN THE INDUSTRIALIZED WORLD. THAT MEANS MORE U.S. IMPORTS AND MAYBE HIGHER COMMODITY PRICES FOR LATIN EXPORTS. THAT IS GOOD NEWS FOR ALL OF THEM.

WE WILL THEREFORE DO WELL TO PLAY FROM OUR ECONOMIC STRENGTH, AND PLAY DOWN OUR POLITICAL PROBLEMS AT HOME. THEY MUST REALIZE, HOWEVER, THAT OUR ECONOMIC REVIVAL WILL BENEFIT THEM PRIMARILY THROUGH THE MARKET PLACE AND INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS -- NOT THROUGH NEW BILATERAL DEALS.

YOU WILL BE MEETING A MORE FRIENDLY, BUT ALSO A MORE FORMIDABLE GROUP THAN YOU SAW IN MEXICO. MEN WHO HAVE TRIED ON THIRD WORLD CLOTHES FOR SIZE. MEN WHO FEAR THAT THE EXISTING INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM MAY BE RIGGED AGAINST THEM. GOVERNMENT LEADERS OF THE LARGER NATIONS YOU ARE VISITING ARE FOR THE FIRST TIME ACTIVELY INVOLVED IN WORLD CONFERENCES ON CRITICAL ISSUES. MANY STILL SPEAK IN SHIBBOLETHS; SOME WITH AN OCCASIONAL HYPOCRISY. BUT THEY SENSE THE INEVITABILITY OF CHANGE AND WANT TO PUSH AND SHAPE IT. THEY NOW KNOW THEY HAVE A SEAT AT THE TABLE. THEY UNDERSTAND THE RULES. THEY REALIZE THAT WE WILL REMAIN THE MAJOR PLAYER.

THEY ARE ALSO AWARE THAT YOU HAVE BEEN LISTENING. YOUR SEVENTH SPECIAL SESSION SPEECH AND YOUR ATTENDANCE AT CIEC PROVE THAT. BUT THEY ARE STILL SKEPTICAL. THE PERSUASION PROCESS IS SLOW. YOUR TRIP IS CRITICAL TO THAT PROCESS.

GOALS AND THEMES

OUR PRINCIPAL POLICY GOAL IS TO INFLUENCE LATIN AMERICAN
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 04 STATE 036722

COUNTRIES TOWARD MODERATE POSITIONS IN THEIR INCREASINGLY IMPORTANT GLOBAL ROLE. ESSENTIAL TO THAT OBJECTIVE IS THE DEMONSTRATION THAT THE UNITED STATES IS PREPARED TO ACCEPT THE RESPONSIBILITY OF LEADERSHIP IN THE BUILDING OF A NEW WORLD ORDER.

WE PLAY FROM STRENGTH IN OUR OWN HEMISPHERE.

-- OUR ECONOMIC POWER, AND RENEWED GROWTH, TRANSLATE INTO ATTRACTIVE MARKETS FOR OUR LATIN AMERICAN NEIGHBORS. WE REMAIN A PRINCIPAL SOURCE OF THEIR FOREIGN INVESTMENT CAPITAL.

-- WE HAVE A HERITAGE OF IDENTIFICATION WITH LATIN AMERICAN ASPIRATIONS FOR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT.

-- WE HAVE A TRADITION OF COOPERATIVE PROBLEM-SOLVING THAT HAS EMERGED FROM A MORE INTENSE BUT CIVIL NORTH-SOUTH INTERACTION THAN ANYWHERE IN THE WORLD.

A UNITED STATES SEEN PREPARED TO LEAD, TO DEAL PRAGMATICALLY, TO AVOID IDEOLOGY AND TO WORK CREATIVELY FOR NEW INTERNATIONAL SOLUTIONS WILL ALLOW US TO REMIND THEM OF THEIR RESPONSIBILITIES.

WE CAN PROJECT THAT IMAGE BY SPELLING OUT A COHERENT LATIN AMERICAN POLICY IN YOUR PUBLIC STATEMENTS AND PRESS CONFERENCE:

-- THE NATIONS OF LATIN AMERICA ARE SIGNIFICANT NOW, NOT MERELY BECAUSE THEY ARE IN THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE, BUT THE MORE SO, BECAUSE THEY ARE ENTERING THE WORLD SCENE.

-- THE UNITED STATES EMBRACES THE NEW AGENDA FOR BUILDING A COOPERATIVE INTERNATIONAL ORDER. WE ARE PREPARED TO MODIFY THE INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS AND ARRANGEMENTS OF THE PAST. THOSE REFORMS WILL RESPOND TO THE SPECIAL NEEDS AND PROBLEMS OF THE LATIN AMERICAN NATIONS, MOST OF WHOM ARE AT AN INTERMEDIATE STAGE OF DEVELOPMENT.

-- IN THE MAIN, THE EFFORT TO BUILD THAT NEW COOPERATIVE
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 05 STATE 036722

INTERNATIONAL ORDER MUST BE MOVED BY A GLOBAL VISION AND HAVE A WORLD SWEEP. IN POINT OF FACT, MANY OF THE "NEW" PROBLEMS THAT VEX THE LATINS ARE GENERAL; THEY DEFY REGIONAL SOLUTIONS. TRADE AGREEMENTS, MONETARY AND FINANCIAL ADJUSTMENTS, TECHNOLOGY POLICIES, ETC. ARE UNIVERSALISTIC.

-- THAT IS WHY OUR POLICY TOWARD THE LATIN AMERICAN NATIONS CAN NO LONGER BE CAPTURED EASILY BY A SINGLE SLOGAN; THE COMPLEXITY AND DIVERSITY OF THE ISSUES DEFY PAT FORMULAS.

-- OUR RELATIONSHIP WITH OUR TRADITIONAL FRIENDS IN THIS HEMISPHERE IS NEVERTHELESS CENTRAL TO OUR FOREIGN POLICY. THE VENUES OF OUR CONTACTS ARE INCREASINGLY ECLECTIC--BILATERAL AND MULTILATERAL, REGIONAL AND GLOBAL. BUT LATIN AMERICA COUNTS.

--HOW THE DC'S AND LDC'S MANAGE THE PROCESS OF TRYING TO BUILD THE NEW INTERNATIONAL ORDER IS CRUCIAL TO THE SUCCESS OR FAILURE OF THE EFFORT. DEVELOPED AND DEVELOPING COUNTRIES MUST WORK THROUGH CONCILIATION, COMPROMISE, AND CONSENSUS-BUILDING. THIS IS PRECISELY THE TRADITION OF THE WESTERN

HEMISPHERE, A HEMISPHERE NOT DISTRACTED BY THE OLD AGENDA OF WAR AND CONFLICT WHICH POISONS THE RELATIONS OF STATES IN AFRICA, THE NEAR EAST, ASIA AND EUROPE. THIS IS PREEMINENTLY A CONTINENT OF PEACE. THAT IS WHY WE LOOK TO THE COUNTRIES OF LATIN AMERICA TO ASSUME THEIR NEW, GLOBAL RESPONSIBILITIES WITH AN APPRECIATION OF THE NEED TO RESPECT THE RIGHTS AND INTERESTS OF ALL THE ACTORS.

-- WE DO NOT PROPOSE TO DIVIDE AND CONQUER. OUR NEW EMPHASIS ON BILATERALISM AND GLOBALISM IN DEALING WITH THEM IS A NECESSITY BORN OUT OF THE COMPLEX NATURE OF THE PROBLEMS WE ALL FACE. WE ACCEPT LATIN AMERICA'S EFFORTS TO BUILD LATIN AMERICAN SOLUTIONS TO COMMON LATIN PROBLEMS, AS LONG AS IT IS CONCILIATORY RATHER THEN CONFRONTATIONAL. WE ARE NOT OPPOSED TO REGIONAL AMBITIONS AND REGIONAL ASPIRATIONS.

-- WE CONTINUE OUR COMMITMENT TO THE SECURITY OF OUR SMALL CENTRAL AMERICAN NEIGHBORS UNDER THE RIO TREATY AND
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 06 STATE 036722

TO THEIR CONTINUING REQUIREMENTS FOR DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE. KISSINGER

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